3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 463-B] Teklum

these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not attempted. Legal action, moreover, would create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

The Resolution of the Case

It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptation to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare